1: Lee H-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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becoming premier in October, 1919, Stambolisky's first task after was that of signing the peace terms drawn up by the victorious Allies.

The Treaty of Neuilly, November 27, 1919, reduced Bulgaria to a smaller area than it had held before the First Balkan War of 1912 and imposed new burdens. Bulgaria lost the Aegean coast (Western Thrace) to Greece, southern Dobruja to Romania, and strips of land on the west to Yugoslavia. The army was limited to a total of 20,000. Reparations amounting to $450,000,000 were to be paid in thirty-seven years, beginning in 1921. The existence of Bulgarian minorities in all the neighboring states furnished a basis for revisionism which steadily grew, particularly after the rise of fascism throughout Europe in the thirties.[2] The provision for an exchange of populations with Greece greatly heightened the volume of refugees who streamed into Bulgaria, adding to the political ferment and economic burdens of the country. In these and other ways, the settlement exacerbated conditions under which radicalism throve.

Stambolisky won a commanding position in the parliamentary elections of March, 1920, and proceeded to ride roughshod over both the middle class and conservative parties on the right and the Communists on the left. He instituted a number of reforms, including a land law designed to break up the crown lands and larger estates, the imposition of a heavy income tax, and the establishment of a compulsory labor service which in the first four years of operation secured the equivalent of five million wage days of work for the Ministries of Public Works and Railways. In foreign policy he sought to fulfill the treaties and to effect a reconciliation with Yugoslavia among whose Communist and Agrarian parties his concepts of Slavic federation found support. His dictatorial methods, however, won him enemies on all sides, not least among them being the Macedonians who opposed his policy of rapprochement with Yugoslavia. In June, 1923, he was overthrown by a *coup d'état* organized by a group of intellectuals, led by Professor Tsankov, and the League of Army Reserve Officers, among whom Colonels Velchev and Georgiev were leaders. A few days later Stambolisky was assassinated.

Following the Stambolisky regime, the Tsankov government (1923-26) represented a swing to the right. "Communist" insurrections and violence were suppressed with great severity. The increased activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) caused difficulties at home and abroad, although after the assassination of its leader Alexandrov (1924) it was split into two factions under Protoguerov and Mihailov who became bitter rivals. A threat of war with Greece arose, but was averted by the action of the League of Nations. A more conciliatory government

[2] See G. P. Genov, *Bulgaria and the Treaty of Neuilly* (Sofia, 1935).

[185] **The administration [vocational rehabilitation] program provides that during 1955, 70 thousand persons would be rehabilitated, 100 thousand in 1956, and the number would be progressively increased until 1959 some 200 thousand disabled persons would be rehabilitated and returned to useful work.—James P. Mitchell**

466 right of freedom on the job and a legal principle requesting mutual consent for any modification of existing conditions."[28]

The check upon the workers' movement is performed via so-called "personal passports" and "workbooks." The first, issued by the police and the second by the first employer are labelled "official documents" and must be presented on request. According to the provisions of the Labor Code, as well as of the special Decree for Workbooks,[29] every worker is required to present his workbook, in order to be eligible for any kind of job. The book contains the whole employment record and, specifically, "the reason for the discontinuation" of a previous job.[30] It is kept by the employer and is aimed primarily at the prevention of arbitrary quitting.

471 Before discussing the core of labor relations—collective bargaining—it is important to recall the main characteristics of the parties between which the bargaining is supposed to take place. Due to the complete disappearance of private ownership in industry, the one and only owner and employer in Bulgaria is the Communist state. And bargaining with the state, even if duly protected, is always burdensome, especially when such protection is entirely lacking. In fact, Bulgaria's form of government being that of a dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, "a power limited by nothing . . . directly based on violence,"[31] and the sole repository of power being the Communist Party and government, all protective in-

[28] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 14, February 17, 1953.

[29] The Bulgarian Communists themselves seem to have been embarrassed by the shockingly frank language of the Stability Law (cf. author's study cited at footnote 3, p. 20, quoting speach by Vice-President Yugov), so that they repealed it nine months later (*Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 90, November 10, 1953). No change in the actual situation has been reported, however.

[30] *Izvestiya na Presidiuma na Narodnoto Sobranje*, Year IV, No. 26, March 31, 1953.

[31] Art. 17, par. 2 of the Labor Code, and Art. 6 (g) of the Decree for Workbooks.

[32] See footnote 6.

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465 human life and that the "social harm" of an offense is all that matters,[45] Communist legislation makes a worker "responsible for an amount higher than the actually caused damages,"[46] besides, of course, his liability under criminal law.

It is evident that all these financial liability provisions not only reduce the already very low wages of the Bulgarian workers but also violate internationally accepted legal principles—such as the exclusion of liability exceeding actual damage or of liability without guilt or negligence. This is not surprising if one bears in mind that the Bulgarian Penal Code also recognizes the application of the principle of analogy in criminal law,[47] and the Labor Code proclaims the principle that "acts of indictment have the force of proof until the contrary is proven"[48]—that is, one is presumed guilty unless he proves his innocence.

177. 46 466 185 Analysis of labor and relations in Communist Bulgaria leads to the conclusion that the Bulgarian labor pattern is a carbon copy of the Soviet original. Neither democratic traditions nor social harmony have been taken into consideration. In their blind imitation, the Bulgarian Communists are trying to change the very basis of Bulgarian economy—from agriculture to heavy industry—as if they were mightier than the very nature which deprived the country of the elements required for such a transformation. Their only guiding light is the Soviet example, no matter how detrimental its application on Bulgarian soil might be.[49]

000 The Bulgarian case—most suitable to test Communism in export—has brutally refuted any illusion that Communism can be "different" if applied in more advanced societies. The tragic paradox of the Communist experiment with the Bulgarian workers is that the alleged primary beneficiaries of the new "socialist order" have, instead, received the harshest possible deal. [The End]

661 461 population that purges of scapegoats and acts of dispair have been a permanent feature in Bulgaria as well. The workers, in particular, have defied pointed guns during the recent open unrest in Plovdiv, the second largest Bulgarian city, and in many other cities (Pleven, Pernik, Haskovo, Gorna Dzhumaja). In order to prevent the worst, the government, under Moscow's guidance, has announced a so-called new course, consisting of promises to raise the living standard and to relax the socialist labor discipline. The implementation of these promises is still to come. They clearly imply, however, that the Communist experiment has not succeeded in either converting the Bulgarian workers to Communism or breaking their spirit of resistance. (For details, see work cited at footnote 29, Ch. VIII-X.)

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above all have the principle of discipline and that of respect for his superiors inculcated in him, for no well-ordered State can survive without the existence of some form of hierarchy in it.

It must be admitted that the circumstances with which Bulgaria has had to contend were exceedingly adverse to the development and uplifting of the mass, necessary preliminaries to the exercise of democracy. The nation, dismembered at Berlin, directed all its energy to its reunion. To effect this purpose, it expended the greatest part of its resources on military preparations, and scant attention was given by the governing classes to cultural enterprise. Though many far-seeing Bulgarians, amongst whom Stoyan Mihailovsky, maintained that the policy pursued was wrong, and that a cultural development was the indispensable prerequisite to territorial aggrandisement. Bulgaria's ethnic unification being more easily attained by a process of evolution, and the establishment of a Balkan federation — these views naturally found little favour or encouragement with the classes which wielded power.

Moreover, the ruling classes succumbed to foreign influence, Russian or Austrian, whose object was to keep the Balkan nations in as backward a state as possible, in order to turn them more easily into blind tools for themselves. So that the moral ascendency which the outward world, and especially those great empires with which Bulgaria was in close touch, exerted on her, instead of being edifying and elevating was, on the contrary, demoralising and pernicious in the extreme, Dr. D. N. Popov, the biographer of Kosta Arseniev (1864-1899), an exemplary honest democratic politician, alluded in the following terms to that stormy period of Bulgaria's history. „Demagogy created immorality. Electoral abuses, brigandage below, and corruption above, became endemic. Some would have tied Bul-

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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One may therefore summarize by saying that there has been virtually no religious struggle in Bulgaria, even though the victims are not few in number. This does not mean that all has been tranquil and serene. Georgi Dimitrov was not a man to give that sort of content to the word "peace." Nowhere have the Russians shown greater ruthlessness in carrying out the policies to which Leninism-Stalinism is committed. Marxist theorists consider the independent farmer as the greatest obstacle to social progress. They think it inevitable that industry should spawn the proletarian worker, and hold this worker to be at one and the same time a carrier of the Marxist virus and a member of the class majority in whose hands collective power over productive properties collectively owned and managed properly belongs. Accordingly there is only one way in which to speed arrival at the Communist goal, defined by Marx in the first volume of *Das Kapital*. The agricultural operation must be collectivized, so that eventually all tillers of the soil will cease to be owners of property and will work instead for the State. On this belief has been based the otherwise curious and paradoxical procedure of the Communists in Eastern Europe. In countries containing large estates, the Land Reform method is used to break them up and to parcel out small holdings; but as soon as this has been done the process is reversed, and the peasant owners are squeezed until they can only surrender their land for the organization of a "cooperative."

Therefore, Bulgaria was almost made to order for Communist experimentation. Nearly four-fifths of the population earned a living by the soil; and, though after the First World

and now the number of Mohammedans expelled is in excess of 150,000. Moslem religious activities are, as a matter of course, subject to the existing laws concerning religion. Turkey has therewith been faced with a grave problem of refugee resettlement, and reliable reports indicate that she has dealt with it skillfully. Refugees are receiving farm lands in Anatolia, which has been sparsely populated. Naturally there need be no fear of Communist infiltration.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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War a program of cooperative farming was inaugurated on a voluntary membership basis, the vast majority of farmers were small landowners of the type which once was so characteristic of the Ukraine. As early as August, 1945, the first of a series of decrees was promulgated, to liquidate the hated kulak and incorporate him into the kolkhoz, or State farm, system. At the same time a blueprint of industrialization was drawn, on the basis of the familiar Two- and Five-Year Plans. The blueprint required first of all cheap compulsory labor in quantity. The published legislation outlines the methods by which that labor force was to be obtained. The police received authority "to commit to communities for educational labor, or to a new place of residence, persons guilty of fascist or antidemocratic manifestations." It was also decreed, soon after the seizure of power, that many hundreds of thousands of persons should be "sent to the factories or shifted to industry." On none of these matters was any effort made to maintain secrecy.

Soon dams and electric power plants were being constructed in various parts of the country. The exploitation of Bulgaria's very modest coal deposits was greatly intensified. In order to supply the needed labor force, concentration camps were erected in a surprising variety of places. One of the better known is that at Belene, the inmates of which work at digging canals. Here are cooped up many prominent Bulgarian intellectuals, businessmen, and officers of divers political organizations once opposed to Communism. The Communists themselves have advertised widely this camp, where, it is estimated, 9,000 persons are interned under the most primitive penal conditions. If the accounts of prisoners who have escaped from it are to be credited (and there is no reason why they should not be), it is in all truth an infamous place. The methods of committing people to it have been spelled out in carefully devised legislation, which makes no provision for haling anyone before